Ham and Eggs in the 21st Century?

California's Lessons for the Retirement of the Baby Boom

Daniel J.B. Mitchell

Ho-su Wu Professor

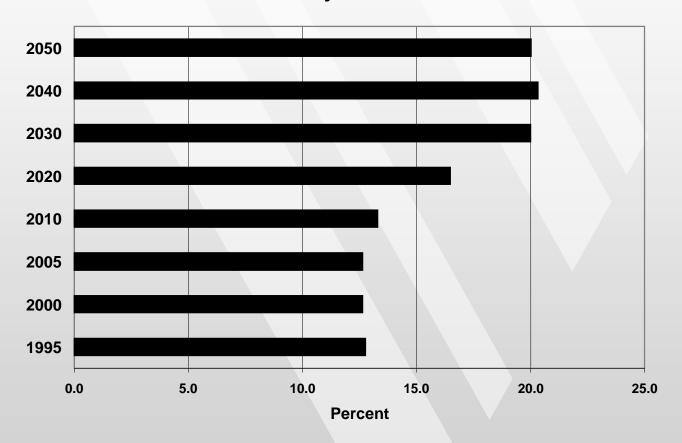
Anderson Graduate School of Management

School of Public Policy and Social Research



The boomers are coming! The boomers are coming!

Percent of U.S. Population 65 and Over: Middle Projection



The BIG Question:

What happens
when you have lots
of elderly people
who aren't getting
what they hoped to
get?



Why Look at

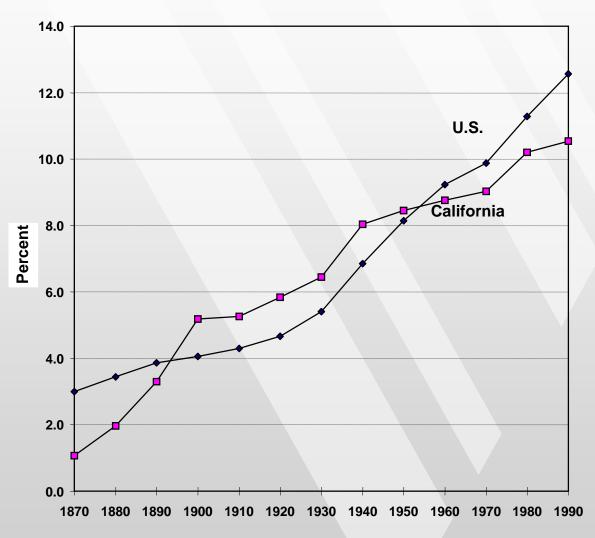


California, the youth state?



California's Demographic Past

Percent Aged 65 and Over: U.S. vs. California





California: 1920s Characteristics

- → A demographic Florida
- → Concentrated population
- **→**Direct democracy
- → Limited old age support



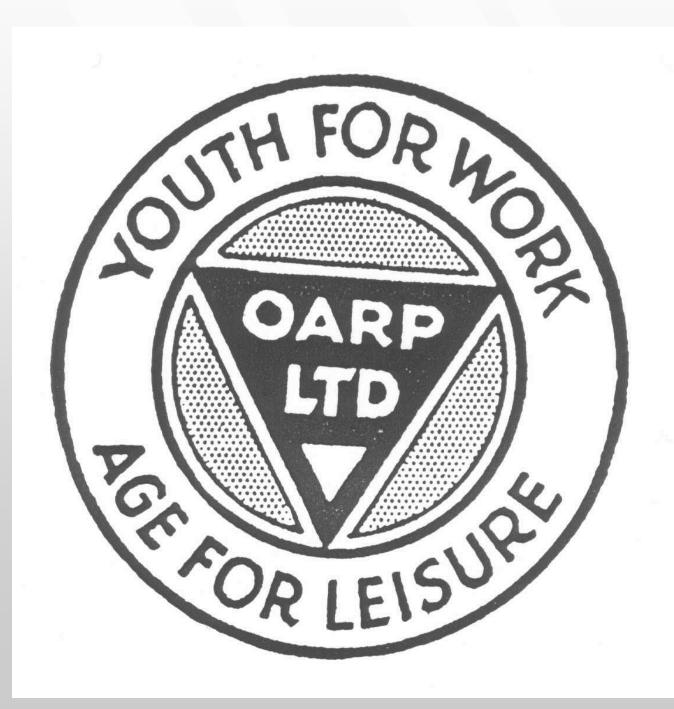
FOE as Friend

Of the California elderly population 70+ years



Act of 1929 mandates "outdoor relief" with state subsidy to the counties.

Dr. Francis Townsend



Ham and Eggs: The Cast

□ Robert Noble: Creator, radio broadcaster, follower of Huey Long, critic of mayor, later seditionist

☐ Willis and Lawrence Allen:
Con-men extraordinaires, hair tonic promoters, would-be
Mexican radio station owners, forgers, owners of Cinema
Advertising Agency

Radio!





- □ Robert Noble: Creator, rad broadcaster, follower of Huey Long, critic of mayor, later seditionist
- Willis and Lawrence Allen:
 Con-men extraordinaire, hair tonic promoters, would-be
 Mexican radio station owners, forgers, owners of Cinema
 Advertising Agency
- ☐ Capt. Earle Kynette of the LAPD: Maker of offers that couldn't be refused, head of the Red Squad, car bomber

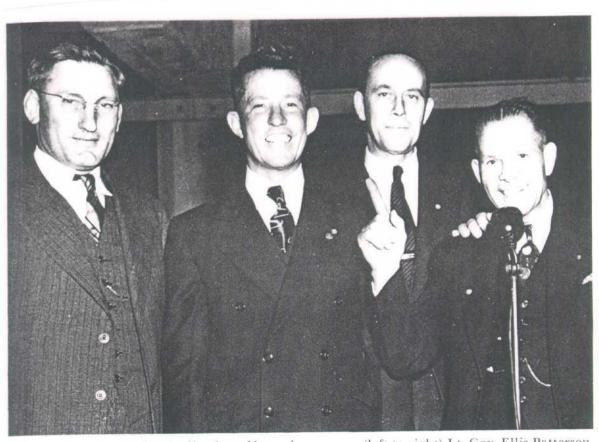


14. Led by Robert Noble, picketers descend on State Capitol in Sacramento to threaten Governor Olson with a recall movement if he does not have pension laws enacted. Olson was making his inaugural address at the time.



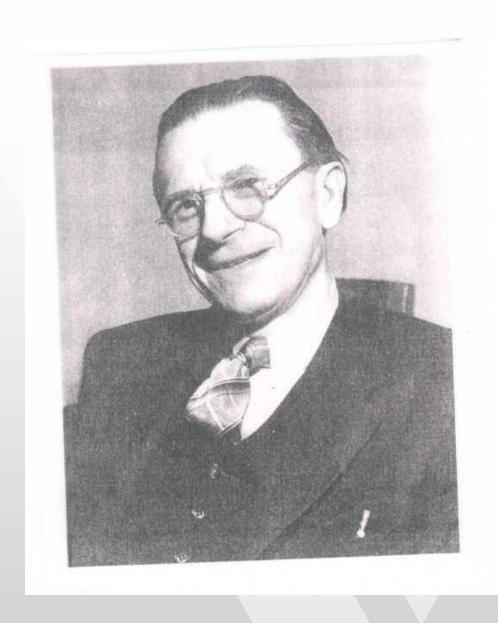


16. (Left to right) Roy G. Owens, Willis Allen, and Will H. Kindig in their main Los Angeles campaign headquarters on the night of November 6, 1939, the eve of the election in which their "\$30-Every-Thursday" plan was rejected by California voters



15. At Los Angeles Shrine Auditorium, November 5, 1939: (left to right) Lt. Gov. Ellis Patterson, with Lawrence W. Allen, Roy G. Owens, and William R. Peeler of the Ham and Eggs movement

- □ Sherman Bainbridge: Radio voice of Ham and Eggs, one time promoter of "Plenocracy"
- □ Roy Owens: "Engineereconomist" of Ham and Eggs, past legislation drafter for Father Divine
- ☐ Gertrude Coogan: Monetary conspiracy theorist and spokesperson for Ham and Eggs, prior economic advisor to radio priest Father Charles Coughlin
- ☐ George McLain: LA campaign manager for Ham and Eggs, later head of his own movement





George McLain, Chairman, Board of Directors, California Institute of Social Welfare.

Political Figures

- □ Sheridan Downey: Running mate with Upton Sinclair in EPIC campaign, endorser of Townsend Plan and Ham and Eggs, elected Democratic U.S. Senator (1938)
- ☐ Frank Merriam: Incumbent
 Republican governor who
 defeated the EPIC campaign
 (1934), endorser of Townsend
 Plan, lost to Culbert Olson (1938)
- □ <u>Culbert Olson</u>: former free silver advocate, defeated Merriam for Governor (1938), waffled on Ham and Eggs



1. Upton Sinclair at work on copy for EPIC News, September 1934



2. Sheridan Downey, Sinclair's running mate



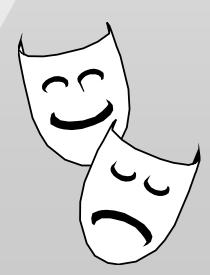
8. Gov. Frank E. Merriam (right) joining Townsend to help open the Townsend Plan's third annual convention. Held in the Los Angeles Coliseum June 20–23, 1938, the convention was attended by some 20,000 persons from all over the country.



12. Culbert L. Olson being sworn in as Governor, January 2, 1939

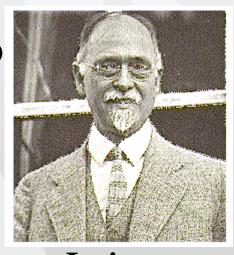
□ Earl Warren: Ambitious Republican, drew public support for locking up the California Japanese community, cut deal with Ham and Eggs, defeated Olson for governor (1942), later VP candidate with Thomas Dewey (1948), Supreme Court chief justice, chaired Warren Commission on JFK assassination



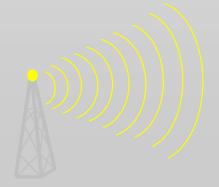


AThe Noble Vision

- ✓ Every California citizen over 50 who did not work would get "\$25 Every Monday" (later "\$30 Every Thursday")
- ✓ Primary source of finance: Fisherian stamp money ("warrants") to be issued by the state.
 Each dollar of warrants would require a weekly 2 cent stamp
- ✓ Roy Owens to be in charge
- ✓ On the state ballot in 1938 and 1939



Irving Fisher



The Allen Wrench



- **◆ The Allens join with Noble**
- ◆ The Mexican radio station (Foghorn Murphy affair)
- **◆ The forged letter**
- **◆**Enter Capt. Kynette
- **♦** The coup
- The new voice of Bainbridge
- **◆**The martyr
- Coogan and others arrive
- The labor alliance



Ham and Eggs sound truck, July, 1938. Courtesy, UPI/Corbis-Bettman.

◆The Big Bang



Clifford Clifton examines Harry Raymond's bombed-out car in 1938. (Hearst Collection, USC Library)

"Who did it, Harry?"

"That son of a bitch Earle Kynette... I want you to promise you'll get him for me."

"I'll get him for you, Harry."

"They told me they would get me. They put Kynette on me. ...Kynette takes his orders from City Hall and they wanted me out of the way. He's the one who rigged the bomb."

- The cheated partner
- The failed coup
- The 1938 election
- O Round 2
- Owen's bank means Coogan walks
- Olson waffles
- Olson's betrayal
- The 1939 election
- The failed recall
- OAA in California
- Olson endorses 60-60
- The Warren alliance
- Anointing George McLain

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The Times Selephone Humber Connecting All Departments

DAILY, FIVE CENTS

EDNESDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 9, 1938. OLSON LEADS, HAM-EGGS BEATEN

New Deal Gets Dewey Loses to Lehman

Pennsylvania Wrested From Democrats; Taft Far Ahead of Bulkley in Ohio

The New Deal and ered a loody blow in yestertaly's elections, when Republican reconfured hieror self attractional of Promotylysisma, and made attaking gains to other States. However, the Republicans looks some buffering thermaelves, Day loss their try for the New York Governorship, with lowermor Leistania defersing Thomas A. Dewest in a "postor brish" that was breath clasking. Democratic also captured both interactional cross in New York. Robert A. Taff, Republicans, son of the former President,

Robert A. Taft, Republicson, son of the former President, seemed besided for victory over Servator Robert J. Bulkery, between the story over Servator Robert J. Bulkery, but to the Servan Line of the Serv

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MENONS DEFENTED

Setback at Polls in Close Race

Triumph Over G.O.P in New Deal Test

|Wednesday.| (#) Governor |Herbert H. Lehman (D.) was |re-elected in yesterday's nationally important New York election and, on the face of

ROOMEVELT UNTURA

RUN AHEAD THE FOR HIGH OFF

How This City and County Voted

Following are the latest arturns on the vote cost vesterday in Los Angeles city and count particular in Angeles city and count particular in Angeles city and Source Estates in the Post This exposure is a series in the country of th

Downey Seen Likely Victor

and \$30 Pension Plan Defeated; Republicans Show Gains in Voting

Although the lead of State Senator Olson (D.1 in Los An-peirs County over Governor Merriam seemed sufficient for its election in yesterday's general election, Merriam late last night refused to concede defeet, insuting that the rural vota

night refused to concrete defeat, insuting that the rural was implified to concrete defeat, insuting that the rural was implified and the result immediately after the Mersam statement the Olson educatings in the last quarter of the contry 1480 premiers in respect, decreased materially indicating that his plurality here may fall far short of the early estimate of 100,000. While the Democratic apparently succeeded in capturing the Governoothip and in holding their United States Sense sent with Sheridan Downer (D.) defeating Philip Bancerto.

IR. I their majority in House seats seemed to have been re-

State-wide Election Vote Totals

UNITED STATES SENATOR IN

STATE PROPOSITIONS

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Recorded in Mexico
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Observable (Mexico)

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IN THE 'TIMES' TODAY

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378 2,106 Yes No.



TIMES OFFICE IIII West Pers Award

WEDNESDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 8, 1939.

DAILY FIVE CENTS

Rulers Make Peace Proffer

King Leopold and Queen Wilhelmina Ready to Help Britain, France and Germany Find Way to End Warfare in Europe

Find Way to find Warfare in Europe

THE HAGUE, Nov. 7. GP—King Leopoid of the Belgians and Queen Wilhelmins of The Netherlands offered lought to stay out of the Backars and to help find a way to peace for three great warring embres before the conflict "begins with its full powers."

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IN THE 'TIMES' TODAY WEDNESDAY

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FINANCIAL Pilins Co. re-sews actions of directors. March & Finance. Wheel Justice de-lineary clocks advance. The markets in resume follow-ing viection business. Page 12.

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Italy Warns Russia to Let Summarized Balkans Alone

Communist Manifesto Draws Reply Duce Real

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Senate tartif blue surveyed by Hull Page & Park L

ELECTION'S, Ham and Eggs, and montrol, ethicopractary following throughout State mone abilia approved. Page L. Part L. Obie rejecte Signious plan, 2 to 16 words defeat of its kind in States Eddorf, Page L. Part L.

Vote Results Over Nation

OHIO—Bigelow plan to extend old-age penaton rolls to rittlems between 60 and 65 years of age and liberal-ize payments, defeated by approximately 3-to-1 vote. PENNSYLVANIA — Re-publicate retain control of Philadelphia municipal Democratic-Fusion coall-

prove legislation of part-mutuel receivable betting

KENTUCKY - Keen ohnson (D) leads Judge King Swope (71.) on early

DETROIT - Edward J Jeffries attempting to un-Reading, pijes up wide lead.

SAN FRANCISCO Mayor Angelo J. Rosal and Incumbent Supervisors re-elected.

NEW JERSEY-Resultlicans retain control of both houses of State Legisla-

New York for Pari-mutuels

Tammany Wakes Up as Democrats Win in County Election

SEVELT VOTES

Bookies Cash in on Own Defeat

New York Votes for Pari-mutuel Machines

Fati-mitted Machines
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Bigelow Plan by 3-1 Vote Proposal Offered Sum

at \$40 to \$50 Monthly ta Residents Over 60 CLEVELAND, Nov. 7 125

CHEVILAND, Nov. 7, 189. No. Oblice emphatically repected for day the Blerlow-plan to existent obligate persons of the second obligate persons roots in 7166 citizens between 60 and 63 and 75 and 16 liberalize payments.

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Vote Totals

Ne. I -- Hern 'n' Egg Wermen's 9/46 Precincts out of 11,165 Yes 504,296 No 1,008,297 No. 1-Chiragracters 7) 66 Precincts out of 11,163 Yes 253,575 No 576,895

The sentiment of the people San Francisco

Ohio Rejects State-wide State Swamps Lotest State-wide re-furns from yesterday's 30-Thursday special election os com-piled by the Associated Press follow:

Defeat of Arkinson Dil Measure India

Defeat of Arkinson Oil Measure Indicated as Two Small Loan Bills Victorious and Chiropractors' Proposition Loses

The Ham and Eggs pension proposal on its aecond appearance before the electronic in a year was smashed by Callfornia voters in the special election yesterday, late returns showing a 1-bol vote against 30 Every Thumday. Every county in the State, on returns a) 1 a.m. had rejected the

No. 3—Annovery Bill received to the proposal that "Life Precincts out of 1,165". Along with the straightening of the proposal that "Life Yes. SXI.41 Section 50" the Atkinson indecented bill, Proposition No. 3. No. 199,000 on the ballot, took a decided besting also. Proposition No. 2.

The result, the feerstars of the Assertion of the Asserti

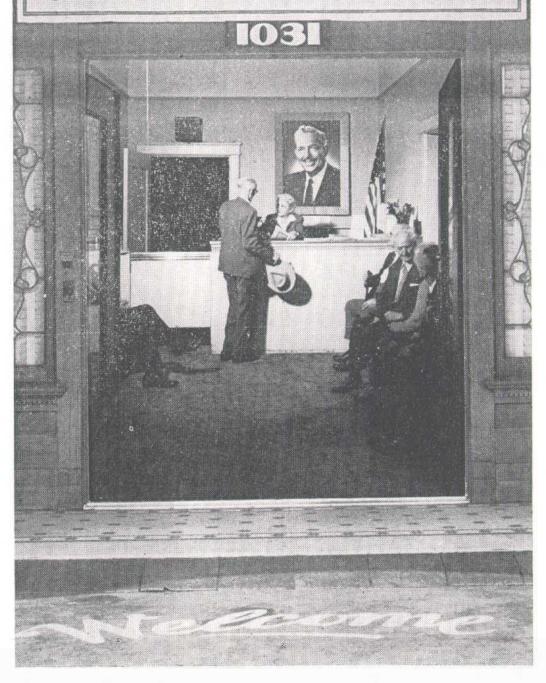
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"Uncle George" Takes Over

- California Institute for Social Welfare
- * 1948: Myrtle Williams, state welfare czar
- Legislative investigation
- * 1949: The empire strikes back
- California finally consumes its Ham and Eggs

THRU THESE PORTALS PASS THE BUILDERS OF A NATION... THEY SHALL NOT BE FORGOTTEN.....



What Came First?

- Prior pension schemes
- Monetary, currency, and banking theories and conspiracies
- Underconsumption, income distribution, and planning theories
- Work-spreading theories
- Promoting government payments (to worthy groups)

The New Deal

Monetarism

- Change in gold price
- Fiddling with silver
- Bank regulation

Underconsumptionism

- **− N.I.R.A.**
- Minimum wage
- Wagner Act

Work spreading

- Overtime
- Anti child labor

Government payments

- Welfare
- Unemployment compensation

Pensions

- Social Security
- Old Age Assistance





Lessons for Future

Ham & Eggs Era

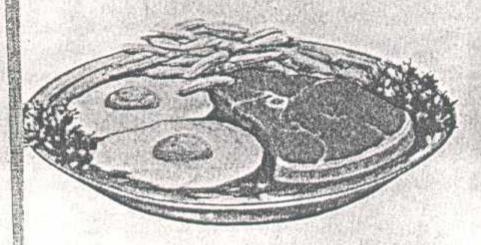
- Demography shifts toward elderly
- Elderly
 frustrations
 over failure of
 society to
 provide
 adequate
 support
- Presence of political entrepreneurs

21st Century

- Demography shifts toward elderly
- Probably, but will depend on economic circumstances and wisdom of reforms adopted
- **■** Count on it



Hamand Cggs



FOR CALIFORNIANS